

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 LUSAKA 03655 01 OF 02 021502Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----032970 021515Z /46  
R 021018Z DEC 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7123

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 3655

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PDEV, RH, ZA  
SUBJ: RHODESIA: KAUNDA'S MEMORANDUM ON THE ELECTION OPTION  
  
REF: LUSAKA 3573

1. EMBASSY HAS PREPARED A SUMMARY (PARAS 2-10) OF THE PAPER ENTITLED "THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS: THE ELECTION OPTION," WHICH ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT KENNETH KAUNDA ENCLOSED WITH HIS LETTER OF NOVEMBER 24 TO PRESIDENT CARTER. WE THINK THE MEMO COULD BE USEFUL TO OUR MISSIONS IN THE OTHER FRONTLINE STATES, PRETORIA, LONDON, LAGOS, AND USUN. WE SUGGEST THAT THE DEPARTMENT CONSIDER TRANSMITTING THE SUMMARY TO THOSE POSTS. APPARENTLY MEMBERS OF THE PRESS ALSO HAVE COPIES OF THE MEMORANDUM WHICH HAS BEEN MIMEOGRAPHED AND DISTRIBUTED WIDELY.

2. PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S MEMORANDUM, "THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS: THE ELECTION OPTION," OUTLINES HIS THINKING REGARDING A SOLUTION TO THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM AND ARGUES HIS POSITION THAT ELECTIONS SHOULD NOT BE HELD UNTIL AFTER A PERIOD OF CONSOLIDATION FOLLOWING INDEPENDENCE AND A TURN-OVER OF POWER TO THE LIBERATION FORCES IN THE FORM OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THE PAPER BEGINS BY POINTING OUT THAT THE FRONTLINE STATES SERVE AS A REAR BASE FOR THE LIBERATION  
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FORCES ON BOTH "THE WAR AND NEGOTIATIONS FRONT." KAUNDA ACCEPTS THE BRITISH WHITE PAPER AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS, BUT ARGUES THAT AS SUCH, EVERY PROVISION IS SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATION, EXCEPT THE PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE BASED ON MAJORITY RULE.

3. THE RESULTS OF THE CARVER-CHAND MISSION DID NOT CHANGE

KAUNDA'S VIEW THAT SMITH IS CONTINUING TO TRY TO BUY TIME AND THAT SMITH "IS ABSOLUTELY DETERMINED TO ENTRENCH WHITE POWER IN THE REBEL COLONY." NEVERTHELESS, KAUNDA AGREES WITH SMITH "ON THE NEED FOR THE BRITISH TO MAKE MAJOR POLITICAL DECISIONS BEFORE DISCUSSING THE CEASEFIRE QUESTION."

4. KAUNDA STATES THAT THE CENTRAL POLITICAL PROBLEM IS THE MANNER OF THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE MAJORITY, AND THAT THE BRITISH VIEW IS THAT THE MODE SHOULD BE THROUGH GENERAL ELECTIONS BEFORE INDEPENDENCE. KAUNDA ARGUES THAT THE TRANSFER OF POWER MUST NOT "USHER NEW ZIMBABWE INTO ANOTHER ERA OF BLOODSHED AND INSTABILITY," AND THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT MUST BE STRONG AND CAPABLE OF GUARANTEEING SECURITY. TO ACHIEVE THAT PURPOSE, KAUNDA BELIEVES IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO HOLD ELECTIONS PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE. THE QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER TO HOLD ELECTIONS, BUT WHEN.

5. THIS VIEW IS BASED ON THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS:

(A) THE ONLY POSSIBLE WAY TO END THE WAR IS BY AGREEMENT WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, BY TRANSFERRING POWER TO THEM "ON BEHALF OF THE ZIMBABWEAN MASSES;"

(B) THE UK/US PROPOSALS DESCRIBE THE ZIMBABWE LIBERATION FORCES AS THE BASIS FOR A ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY AS A RECOGNITION OF BASIC REALITIES. IT SHOULD LIKEWISE BE RECOGNIZED THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WHICH COMMANDS THE GUNS MUST FORM THE BASIS OF THE ZIMBABWE INDEPENDENCE GOVERNMENT;  
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(C) THERE IS A HIGH RISK OF ELECTION VIOLENCE BECAUSE OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC HATRED IN THE COUNTRY. CIVIL WAR COULD ERUPT, POSSIBLY RESULTING IN THE POSTPONEMENT OF ELECTIONS AND, THEREFORE, OF INDEPENDENCE. AS A CONSEQUENCE, "BRITAIN WOULD NOT DECOLONIZE BUT WOULD INSTEAD BE FURTHER EMBROILED IN A NEW PHASE OF STRUGGLE WHICH WOULD MAKE EXTERNAL INTERVENTION BY SOUTH AFRICA INEVITABLE;"

(D) ELECTIONS PER SE WILL NOT PROVIDE STABILITY BECAUSE IF

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

-----032516 021515Z /46

R 021018Z DEC 77

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7124

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 3655

EXDIS

THERE IS VIOLENCE, "ELECTIONS CAN NEITHER BE FREE NOR FAIR,"  
AND "WE CANNOT BE SANCTIMONIOUS ABOUT THE NEED FOR ELECTIONS  
AT ANY COST."

6. WHEN CONSIDERING THE ATMOSPHERE FOR ELECTIONS, ONE MUST  
TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE MULTIPLICITY OF PARTIES AND PERSONAL  
DIFFERENCES OF LEADERS, THE STRONG BLACK-WHITE HOSTILITY,  
AND ESPECIALLY, THE LARGE AMOUNT OF ARMS AVAILABLE TO ALL  
SIDES. THERE MUST, THEREFORE, BE A PERIOD DURING WHICH  
TEMPERS CAN COOL. AN IMMEDIATE TRANSFER OF POWER WOULD  
PROVIDE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, BUT  
ELECTIONS "WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY LEAD THE COUNTRY INTO  
YET ANOTHER ARMED STRUGGLE."

7. KAUNDA STATES THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD WIN ELECTIONS  
IN ANY CASE, BUT, "WHAT ZIMBABWE NEEDS IS NOT THE SATISFACTION  
OF THE ROMANTIC REQUIREMENTS OF DEMOCRACY THROUGH GENERAL  
ELECTIONS, BUT THE BUILDING UP OF A STRONG MACHINERY TO  
WHICH POWER WILL BE TRANSFERRED." POWER MUST BE TRANSFERRED  
TO THOSE WHO CAN END THE WAR, BE MAGNANIMOUS IN VICTORY,  
MANAGE THE INSTRUMENTS OF POWER, AND HAVE THE WILL, COURAGE,  
AND POWER TO HONOR AGREEMENTS. ONLY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT  
CAN FULFILL THESE CRITERIA.

8. WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE  
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PATRIOTIC FRONT DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN THERE WOULD BE  
NO VIOLENCE, KAUNDA ARGUES THAT PRE-INDEPENDENCE ELECTIONS  
"WITHOUT QUESTION MUST LEAD TO CONFLICT." IF POWER IS GIVEN  
TO "A BROAD-BASED NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, LEAD BY THE PATRIOTIC  
FRONT, BUT INCLUDING OTHER POLITICAL ELEMENTS," INDEPENDENCE  
AND RELATIVE PEACE WOULD BE MORE CERTAIN. ALL THE NATION'S  
SECURITY FORCES WOULD OWE ALLEGIANCE TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT  
AND VIOLENCE WOULD BE MINIMAL AND EASILY CONTAINED.

9. KAUNDA STATES THAT HE IS ADVOCATING AN INDEPENDENCE  
GOVERNMENT "BASED OR DOMINATED BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WHO  
WILL BE FREE TO INCORPORATE" OTHERS SUCH AS MUZOREWA, SITHOLE,

AND CHIKEREMA. A TRANSFER TO SUCH A BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT VIOLATE THE PRINCIPLE OF NIBMAR (NO INDEPENDENCE BEFORE MAJORITY RULE) BECAUSE THESE ELEMENTS ARE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE. ARGUING THAT THESE VIEWS HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH INDIVIDUAL LEADERS, KAUNDA SAYS THAT ZIMBIA WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT "SO LONG AS THEY CONTINUE THEIR JUST STRUGGLE." DESPITE DENUNCIATIONS AND INSULTS BY MUGABE, KAUNDA WILL CONTINUE TO WORK FOR THE UNITY OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT "UNDER ONE STRONG PARTY AND CHAIN OF COMMAND."

10. THE MEMORANDUM CONCLUDES: "WE BELIEVE THERE IS ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT IN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. THIS MEMORANDUM IS DESIGNED AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THIS NOBLE END."  
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## Message Attributes

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